

MAR. 5 1949

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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 42, NO. 11

MARCH 7, 1949

WHOLE NO. 1097

SCHOLARSHIP FOR SUMMER STUDY IN ROME

LINKING THE OLD AND THE NEW IN ITALY (*McDaniel*)

CICERO AND POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY (*Izzo*)

NIMBLE-FOOTED RUNNERS (*McCartney*)

GERMAN AND ITALIAN PUBLICATIONS IN CLASSICS, 1940-5 (*Ullman et al.*)

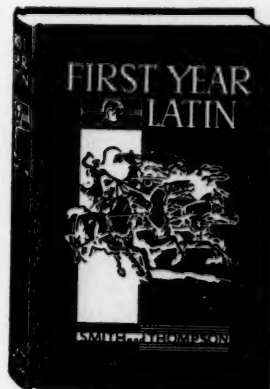
THE LANGUAGE OF LEADERS

Latin has always been a leader among the studies of culture. Its value as a background for the learned professions of the Church, Medicine, and Law is obvious.

Latin has also been a basic factor in the success of the world's great leaders. Particularly is this true of the English-speaking peoples among whom it is well understood that the masters of English have first mastered Latin.

Enrollments in Latin are today larger than heretofore, though the select fraction of those who study this subject is less than it was when high schools were smaller.

Latin is more esteemed than ever. Little profit is to be gained by listening to those who are unschooled in Latin and who, therefore, recommend less valuable subjects in its place.



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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

Volume 42 contains issues dated: October 4, 18; November 1, 15; December 6, 20 (1948); January 10, 24; February 7, 21; March 7, 21; April 4, 18; May 2, 16 (1949).

Published semi-monthly from October to May inclusive by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Place of Publication: Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. Printed by Business Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa.

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General subscription price: \$3.00 per volume in the Western Hemisphere; elsewhere \$3.50. Price to members of the C.A.A.S.: \$2.50. All subscriptions run by the volume. Single numbers: to subscribers 20 cents, to others 30 cents prepaid (otherwise 30 cents and 40 cents). If affidavit to invoice is required, sixty cents must be added to the subscription price. For residents of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, or the District of Columbia, a subscription to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY (or, alternatively, to The Classical Journal) is included in the membership fee of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, whose members are also entitled to The Classical Outlook and The Classical Journal at special prices in combinations available from the Secretary.

Entered as second-class matter November 7, 1945, at the Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, authorized October 14, 1938.

A C.A.A.S. SCHOLARSHIP FOR SUMMER STUDY IN ROME

The Classical Association of the Atlantic States announces the establishment of a competitive scholarship to assist a member of the Association to attend the 1949 Summer Session of the School of Classical Studies, American Academy in Rome.

The scholarship provides the sum of two hundred dollars (\$200.00) and the American Academy in Rome has offered to cancel the tuition fee of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) for the recipient. Thus, in financial assistance, the scholarship amounts to three hundred dollars (\$300.00) or about one-third of the estimated basic expenses of \$850.00 for attending the Session from New York to New York.

Candidacy is restricted to teachers of Latin or the Classics in secondary schools, both public and private, who are members of C.A.A.S. and teach within its geographical boundaries.

Applications for the C.A.A.S. scholarship should be addressed to:

Professor Lillian B. Lawler,
Hunter College,
695 Park Avenue,
New York 21, New York.

In making application for the scholarship, applicants should furnish: Name, age, home address and address of school in which employed; academic biography (degree received with date and institution, chief fields of study, etc.); description of courses which the applicant is now teaching; future teaching plans; a confidential statement of the applicant's need of this

scholarship and the ability to meet the rest of the expense from personal funds; two letters of recommendation.

All applications will be treated as confidential by the members of a committee of selection appointed by the President of the C.A.A.S. The scholarship will be awarded to the candidate who in the eyes of the committee is best qualified to make the summer in Rome an effective and profitable addition to his or her teaching and classical knowledge.

Although applications for enrollment in the 1949 Summer Session close on March 1, the C.A.A.S. has arranged with the American Academy in Rome to keep a place open for the recipient of the C.A.A.S. scholarship until April 1. Therefore, all applications must be in the hands of Professor Lawler not later than March 20, 1949, so that the winning candidate may be selected before April 1.

It is the earnest hope of the Association that many of its members will compete for the opportunity for study and pleasure at Rome, the heart of our Latin studies, which this scholarship will help make available.

Requests for information about the 1949 Summer Session itself, apart from applications for the C.A.A.S. scholarship which should be sent to Professor Lawler, should be addressed to:

Miss Mary T. Williams,
Executive Secretary,
American Academy in Rome,
101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

[signed] Lillian B. Lawler
President, C.A.A.S.

LINKING THE OLD AND THE NEW IN ITALY

(Continued from Vol. 41, p. 167)

We come now to another particular in which outdoor scenes in Italy and Sicily duplicate what would catch the eye of an American, if only he could tour the same land as it was in Roman times, namely man's relations with his domestic animals and pets. Who that has known only the amenities and proprieties of polite society in one of our urban communities can ever forget the inescapable intimacy with animals to which he had to accustom himself if quest for knowledge compelled him to sojourn in some of the primitive villages of Italy? I have seen the black pig move sedately out of the kitchen as one of its co-proprietors and not as a quickened fugitive. I have eaten my meal with all sorts of creatures circulating competitively under table and chairs, mendicants alert for doles, just as you see them depicted in certain Etruscan frescoes. At the board of many a Tuscan peasant today Lars Porsena or Lars Tolumnius could dine agreeably and feel at home, so far as the feathered or four-legged company is concerned. Except as their sudden descent upon the dining room table can be a bit startling to one who is unaccustomed to having fellow guests come out of the air as he eats indoors, a pair of pigeons are not particularly annoying as they step daintily among the plates and dishes, exchanging momentarily their amorous activities for gastronomic delights. On the other hand, I have resented the presence of hens who have chosen as their roost at nightfall the footboard of my bed with no respect for the sex of the occupant. After all, a decent man has to draw the line of propriety somewhere.

In spite of all the cruelties that were inflicted on animals in the arena at public spectacles in Rome and also, we cannot doubt, on the farms and in the city streets, there is much evidence that there was a great fondness for pets among the people and that they kept them in great variety. Among them, dogs were the common-

est objects of affection, and these had to suffer no such competition from the cat as they do nowadays in the case of some of us. So far as I can discover, pussy has received no tribute of devotion in any work of Latin literature of Classical times. The exterminator of rodents was a weasel, a domesticated pole-cat (i.e. a ferret), a white-breasted marten, or a snake.⁷⁸

For the snake the Greeks and Romans do not appear to have cherished the same degree of antipathy and loathing as is centered on it in our day in Italy and elsewhere.⁷⁹ According to one belief, it could be regarded as a sort of incarnation of the tutelary spirit of husband or wife. As a rule, therefore, these reptiles would be safe, at least from the danger of being killed, even when they might be discovered comfortably ensconced in the family bed. They seem to have wriggled at will through the house, a ready playmate for children, a terror only to the rodents. Emperor Tiberius had a favorite serpent which he used to feed from his hand.⁸⁰ It was perhaps the six-foot *Elaphis quadri-radiatus*, specimens of which may be met in Campania's ancient ruined towns. We read of women who liked to handle snakes in hot weather,⁸¹ as a boa, shall we say, wrapped around the neck they thought brought coolness to the skin. They could multiply so fast in the house that one of the compensations of a conflagration in the city was that it reduced temporarily their excessive number.⁸² The serpent from Epidaurus, which started the colony of serpents which belonged to Aesculapius' shrine of healing on the Tiber Island, has been identified rightly or wrongly—who can be sure?—as the *Coluber flavescens* of modern zoology.⁸³ It is over three feet long, of a reddish color, and a great climber. This last mentioned characteristic of some varieties of snakes explains a passage in Latin comedy which refers to the presence of one of them on the roof of a house. The columns of the peristyle would facilitate his passage there, if vines were trained upon them. We read of snakes circulating harmlessly among the dishes on the dinner tables and seeking the lap or bosom of a guest in the same friendly fashion as Tabby might today.⁸⁴

In southern Italy snakes still serve as the domestic mouser and rat killer.⁸⁵ It is quite consonant, too, with ancient belief when the Calabrian looks on them as guardians of tombs, an incarnation of ancestral spirits who take interest in their descendants in the homes which they serve. It is wicked to kill these snakes, an act of bad augury to drive them away.⁸⁶

It is a moot question just when the cat began to displace at Rome the less agreeable creatures that I have been discussing. It is quite possible, indeed, that the snake was never definitely exiled, but continued as a co-worker of the cat. More than a thousand years before the Christian era the Egyptians had finally accomplished the feat of taming this naturally shyest and most recalcitrant of animals. Some parts of Egypt became 'a land of cats', as the finds of thousands of their mummies sufficiently attest. Whether from there they arrived in Campania and Latium directly or indirectly after some domestication in Sicily and Magna Graecia, it was, in any case, as early as the earlier half of the first century A.D. that a certain Calpurnia Felicia had a feline pictured on her tombstone, and somewhat later, Gaius Julius Catus had a *catta*, or cat, figured on his tessera. In both of these uses the likeness of the animal may be taken as a pictorial pun on the person's name.⁸⁷ The very presence of the cat suggests that the living creature had already become a familiar sight to Roman eyes. This agrees with orthodox chronology for the importation of the pet that now seems to be almost dearer than any other to a true Latin heart. However, the present writer has a theory of his own. He believes that grain ships, as the natural habitat of innumerable rodents, must have carried cats whenever they sailed from an Egyptian port to Puteoli or Ostia, their Italian destination; for we are bound to allow those ancient sea captains the possession of at least a minimum amount of prudence and resourcefulness. If these enormous freighters brought a proper quota of felines to keep down the mice, we must assume that cats were curled up on Roman cushions, purring their selfish satisfaction long,

long years before the books of the learned will allow us to believe. By nature the cat is a terrestrial animal and no professional success on shipboard as a mouser could give it such pleasant memories of the sea as would tempt it to make a return voyage to Alexandria when it could indulge its explorative instincts across a gang plank at Puteoli or Ostia.

Naturally, Italian superstition has not passed over such an intimate of the family as the domestic cat. If you observe that many of them in Italy have had the tip of the tail bitten or chopped off—the method depends upon the owner's degree of fastidiousness—do not conclude that it is a mere case of wanton cruelty. No, it is done for the moral improvement of the animal; all its evil resides in that removable end. According to another notion, cutting of the tail turns the creature into a wizard.⁸⁸ Then, there is a superstition in which every lover of pets will see merit, to the effect that whoever has killed one of these animals is going to have his own death agony prolonged.⁸⁹ Italian cats are rarely as fat and sleek as those that we see in France, the modern land of Bast; but there is a degree of comfort and contentment in their purr whenever dogs and boys do not happen to be staging a modern *venatio* at their expense. As a matter of fact, a fat cat is reckoned a dainty dish on the table of the poor.⁹⁰ In some places, however, eating one is thought to bring upon a person the evils of witchcraft: the cat is a child of the Devil and a black one his favorite disguise.⁹¹

Dogs are as multitudinous in Italy as children. Literature and art attest a similar popularity in antiquity, when they served as ever-receptive objects of affection, protectors of the home, and eager assistants in the chase. Hunting dogs were, indeed, valued so highly that their owners might equip their collars with amulets, or string protective charms around their necks; such things as coral, shells, and magic herbs. Nowadays dogs range in size from the familiar guardians of the wine carts of the Campagna, who are all bark when awake, up to the wolverine shepherd dogs that guard their charges so zealously

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as to constitute a serious menace to the stranger, even when he has been guilty of nothing more offensive than propinquity. I have had them come after me in the plain of the Campagna from nearly a quarter of a mile away, and if they had only stopped yelping long enough, they could have heard my teeth chattering and my knees knocking even from that distance. A heavy cane with a pointed ferule is not a bad defensive weapon. One such saved the life of a friend of mine when he was assailed by two of these Campagna wolves. A well-aimed thrust pierced one through the spine and fortunately discouraged the other. As a far-ranging walker in Italy, I much prefer to meet a cat.

And now let us turn our thoughts from the unpleasant recollection of being hunted to being the hunters, hunters in ancient Rome. Like fishing, the chase was one of the pastimes of a rich man's vacation at his country villa. I regret to say, however, that if the Romans are judged by the standards and precepts which now rule venery as a form of gentlemanly sport, they must be termed a race of pot hunters. Had they possessed our facilities and inventions, they would have guaranteed themselves a full bag of game by using some sort of machine-gun on swimming wild fowl, and insured a big catch of fish by dynamiting the waters of the pond. Such wholesale acquisitions would have accorded with the spirit of the times.⁹² Deliberately to wait for a duck to be on the wing would mark the hunter as too stupid to possess his bow and arrows. We even read of the counterfeit Nimrod who parades through the Forum his beaters-in and hunting equipment with a wild boar that was bought at the butcher's and not bravely slain.⁹³

Judged by the canons of any race or period, Pliny the Younger was in many particulars a fine gentleman. He had, however, enough peculiarities of character to make us hesitate to accept his attitude toward the chase as at all instructive for the views of his associates. No doubt, most members of high society took the intellectual life less seriously than Pliny did but the life of sport much more. In any case, we have a sad picture of our hero at a wild boar

hunt, squatting near the nets with stilus and writing tablet in his hands, to serve his studies, while he waited patiently for the beast to be safely enmeshed by the beaters. Then he stuck it with his spear like a pig in a poke. By following this method Pliny was sure to return from his day of sport alive, and he was equally sure to bring back something on his writing tablets, however empty the game bags might be.⁹⁴

An Italian gentleman of our times, when he is hunting or fishing for pleasure, may conform scrupulously to the best traditions of Anglo-Saxon sport, but the rustic gunner whom I have met in all parts of their country, scouring the fields for prey, stop at nothing, or, at any rate, spare nothing. Regions that could be a natural paradise for birds have been almost completely depopulated of them.⁹⁵ We may well believe that even the method of getting fish by the use of poison, which Pliny the Elder describes for the benefit of his fellow countrymen, could appeal to many Italian fishermen as preferable to the slow uncertainties and toil of net and hook-and-line, if only the penalties of the law did not deter.⁹⁶ But it is easy for an American bird lover to be unfair to the *contadini* and to forget that they have the same carnivorous tastes that well-to-do tourists have and that the birds which they shoot may be the only source of meat available for those who cannot afford to buy it in the shops. The trouble is that so many tiny birds that may be said to be all song and no flesh have to die, and that butcher's stalls display to the foreigners' censorious eyes small birds of exquisite plumage.

Among the animals of the chase, as Roman gentlemen practiced the sport, hare and deer were left for the timorous huntsman, the wild boar for the brave. The boar is still reckoned a formidable animal: it offers a sportsman the best thrill that the fauna of Italy can provide. Until recently at least these beasts could be found in the Maremma and in the Pontine marshes, but I presume that, sooner or later, the governmental *bonificazione* of these districts will banish them along with the even more dangerous malarial mosquito. In any case, boars no longer figure in such living pictures as Quintus Hortensius

used to provide on his estate near Laurentum. Here in a private game preserve he had a dining place amid the forest trees. He entertained his guests by having a slave, whom he dressed as Orpheus, assemble around it by the music of his lyre hundreds of wild creatures, thus re-enacting the mythological story of that first great musician.⁹⁷ Hortensius anticipated in a way the new style of zoological gardens, one of the first of which, and a very good one at that, we could enjoy in Rome before the recent World War. The minor thrill of watching in safety dangerous animals in their natural surroundings moving freely within almost leaping distance of the spectators was also provided two thousand years ago at certain wild-beast hunts, *venationes*, and other shows in the Roman amphitheatre. The high wall of the podium with a broad ditch in front of it, kept the wild beasts of the arena from mingling with the beasts in the audience and marring their sadistic delight.

In the language of human courtship the strutting, philandering gallant may be dubbed a cock, and the flirtatious counterpart of such a high-stepping rooster is a coquette. Coquet and coquette are, I need not say, adjectival French forms derived from *coq*, 'a cock'. But in Italy the flirt is a different bird, the small screech owl, the *civetta*. There is literary as well as archaeological evidence that hunters used this bird in ancient times in the same mean way that they do to this day to fascinate other birds to their undoing. Aristotle tells us how, in the sunlight all other little birds flutter around it, buffet it, and pluck out its feathers.⁹⁸ The Greeks called this persecution 'admiring him', and they used the owl as a decoy when they wished to catch the admirers.

The *civetta* is not an unusual sight in the streets of the hill towns of Tuscany. Attached in front of his owner's house by a cord or small chain to a stake at the top of which it perches, it blinks disconsolately in the glare of the fiery Italian sun. Being small and helpless, it is the children's delight. If a boy is passing on an errand, this is never so immediate and the punishment for delay never such a deterrent

that he will not take time to give the *civetta* a terrifying 'shoo'. In moments of leisure, however, the lad derives a greater satisfaction from chasing the bird repeatedly in a frenzy of fear to the full length of its tether to see with what surprise the cord will bring it up short with a dislocating jerk.

But it was sportsmen of the type that such small boys become when they have grown up who showed me how this little owl figures nowadays as much more than a public toy for the children of the village. The scene was the large plain in which Toscanella lies, and I might have quoted the words of the song in *Cymbeline*: 'Hark, hark, the lark at Heaven's gate sings', had it not been for a *civetta*. The bird had been taken from its roost into the fields and tethered to the top of a very long bamboo pole, which was carried by an attendant. The man jiggled this perch up and down, so that as the owl went through its coquettish antics, the larks would descend from singing at Heaven's gate and fly all about it, curious to discover why so staid a bird should flutter in such unseemly fashion. With each discharge of the guns some of them ceased to wonder. For the moment the coquette got an extra shock to the nerves from the gun fire, but it then proceeded to flirt in the same lively and lethal way that it had before, and more songsters fell. Had the bows and arrows and the throwing sticks of the ancients been as unerring, there might now be but little game to shoot.

But I have seen decoy birds used in a still less sporty fashion, which an old Roman would have thoroughly approved. Anyone who is intimate with the Classics, if he happens to be in Capri in the quail-catching season will recall that the wholesale capture of birds on the migratory routes from Africa to northern Europe is no new thing.⁹⁹ Varro speaks of an aviary, an *uccelanda*, as they would call it now, which would yield its owner some three thousand dollars' worth of thrushes in a single season.¹⁰⁰ The capture and the breeding of small birds as singers, pets, and for food could be a big business as well as the mere diversion of a wealthy fancier. Whether

or not they would blind and cage a bird to serve as a decoy in the brutal days of Rome, I cannot say, but that sort of treachery and seduction has been practiced for quail within my lifetime.¹⁰¹ The call of the sightless bird brings his wing-weary mates into the nets which are stretched nearby. Between seasons I have seen the decoy cooped up in a very small blind asylum, a poor reward for serving as a traitor to its kind.

Until it was forbidden by law, it was a common practice in Italy to hunt small birds with the *diavolaccio* or *pantera*, a sieve at the end of a long pole with a light fixed above it. Bewildered birds fly into the sieve and are held by birdlime with which the wires are smeared.¹⁰² Two thousand years ago hunters employed a limed rod. This was composed like a fish pole of several joints so that it could be extended to catch victims in its viscous smear, even when they were at a considerable distance¹⁰³ from the holder's hand. Finally, we may note that the Romans had anticipated, in a way, modern falconry, employing their hawk, *accipiter*, to capture birds.¹⁰⁴

Concerning fishing I have little to say here. It meant principally, of course, sea-fishing and was oftener a business, I think, than a sport. It is interesting to note that in Italy the commercial fishermen resort to many of the same implements and methods that were already old in the days of the Caesars. The student who explores with his eyes wide open is sure to discover some about which he has read in the Latin authors or which he has found illustrated by survivals from antiquity. We have space for only a few examples. At Portovenere by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the shores of the Lago di Garda, as well as elsewhere, I have observed the natives to use for mending the nets an instrument of wood which looks like a double-ended pickle fork. Daedalus or Tubal Cain must have invented it. I had one of bronze in my collection of Roman antiquities. I have also seen them used by women in their crocheting. I long treasured, also, but never put to the test of actual use, a series of ancient bronze fishhooks of the eyeless type that the professional fisherman now uses. Since they were found in the

Tiber, one of them that would be big enough to hook and land a sturgeon especially interests me; for it suggests the size of the fish that anglers caught from or between the bridges, in the days when the Tiber was still a wild river. Finally, we may note that even fishing with artificial flies was an ancient sport.¹⁰⁶ From the animals that were, and are, pets, or victims of sport and provisions for the table we may return now to man, or perhaps I had better say, to man and woman; for that topic of undying interest in every age, the union of the two in wedlock and the birth and rearing of their children can afford us many chances to make comparisons between the life of antiquity and that of recent times in Italy. I shall select only a few out of my collection of instances.

(To be continued)

NOTES

⁷⁸ According to a common opinion, the Greeks had tamed weasels and they were in use at Rome until the end of the first century of our era. The Tarentines were perhaps the first to import cats. Vases discovered in the region of Taranto depict them as their mistresses fondled them, or as they caught birds. See J. A. Ross, *op. cit.* (see note 3) 136-137. But I note that G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (19) queries the use of weasels as mousers (cf. 130).

⁷⁹ For the Italians see, e.g., Michele Pasquarelli, 'Noterelle folk-loriche per la Basilicata', *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, I (1893-1894), 637; G. Pedrotti, 'Credenze e superstizioni popolari raccolte a pie di Castello e Villazzano', *op. cit.*, 288.

⁸⁰ Suet., *Tib.* 72.2.

⁸¹ Cf. Mart. 7.87.7.

⁸² Plin., *N.H.* 29.72.

⁸³ O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II, 299.

⁸⁴ Cf. Sen., *De Ira*, 2.31.6.

⁸⁵ Gordon J. Laing, *Survivals of Roman Religion*, 26.

⁸⁶ Raffaele Corso, 'Amuleti contemporanei calabresi', *Revue des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, II (1909), 251. In Sardinia it is a good omen to have a snake make its home in the dwelling and become tame as a pet: Gio. Maria Cossu, 'Tradizioni, superstizioni, e credenze sarde', *Rivista delle trad. popolari it.* I (1893-1894), 221.

⁸⁷ Ancient art offers other representations of the cat: See especially Erich Pernice, *Pavimente und figurliche Mosaiken. Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii VI*, Taf. 62, 63. In general, a cat-lover who understands German will enjoy reading the authoritative works by Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (see esp. I 65-74; 160-

164) and by V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*^s (see esp. 465-469).

⁸⁸ Paolo Riccardi, 'Pregiudizi e superstizioni del popolo modenese', *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia*, XX, 97.

⁸⁹ Giuseppe Pitrè, *Cartelli, pasquinale, canti, leggende, usi del popolo Siciliano*, 289: a Sicilian belief.

⁹⁰ Howard P. Arnold, *European Mosaic*, 95; W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*^s, 391-392.

⁹¹ Giambattista Bastanzi, 'Superstizioni religiose nelle provincie di Treviso e di Belluno', *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia*, XVII (1887) 273; Angela Nardo-Cibele, *Zoologia popolare veneta specialmente bellunese, credenze leggende e tradizioni varie*, 77.

⁹² They were poachers in their methods: F. F. Royds, *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Vergil*, 21.

⁹³ Hor., *Ep.* 1.6.56-61.

⁹⁴ Plin., *Ep.* 1.6; Cf. 2.8.1. His friend Martial gives us an interesting picture of 'sport': 10.37.13-18.

⁹⁵ On the slaughter of birds, even the loveliest of songsters: Herbert M. Vaughn, *The Naples Riviera*, 224-226; Douglas Sladen, *How to See Italy by Rail*, I, 299. On eating the thrush and lark: W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*^s, 397. The law seems to be impotent to stop illegal hunting: *Enciclopedia Ital.*, s.v. 'Caccia', 219.

⁹⁶ Plin., *N.H.* 25.98; cf. 25.116. See E. Neville-Rolfe and H. Inglesby, *op. cit.* (see note 29) 47: large use of dynamited fish. The ancients sometimes united in a piece of lead as many as five bronze fishhooks.

⁹⁷ Varr., *R.R.* 3.13.2-3.

⁹⁸ Arist., *Hist. Anim.* 9.1.609a, 13ff.

⁹⁹ Varr., *R.R.* 3.5.7.

¹⁰⁰ Varr., *R.R.* 3.2.15.

¹⁰¹ This I must sadly attest. See Angela Nardo-Cibele, *op. cit.* (see note 91), 125. On the quail season at Anacapri: H. M. Vaughn, *op. cit.* (see note 95), 265-266.

¹⁰² Cf. Colin R. Coote, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 222-223; W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*^s, 461.

¹⁰³ Mart. 14.218, where *cantu* may refer to the notes of a decoy bird, but probably is the imitation of the hunter.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Mart. 14.216 with G. Jennison, *op. cit.* (see note 78), 101-102, and A. J. Butler, *Sport in Classic Times*, 195.

¹⁰⁵ A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, 118-119.

¹⁰⁶ A. J. Butler, *op. cit.* 175-176. Mart. 5.18.7-8: a real *musca*.

WALTON BROOKS McDANIEL

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

AND

COCONUT GROVE, FLORIDA

CICERO AND POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY*

The Refutation found in Cicero's Speech on the Manilian Law offers an interesting point for study regarding the political thinking of Cicero. I know that it comes as somewhat of a surprise to my students when they observe 'Saint' Cicero indulging in seeming sophistry. For them the lustre on his halo becomes slightly less lustrous. They are mystified that their idol Cicero could be such a sophist, or, as one of them complained to me, so 'jesuitical' in his method of handling and evading the main point of the objection raised by his Senatorial opponents. For Catulus and Hortensius, the objectors to the passage of the *Lex Manilia*, maintained that supreme power must not be given to any one man alone because this was in direct contradiction to the time-tried principle of collegiality. The mystification of the young men arises from the fact that Cicero has always been pictured for them as the champion of the Republic, as the ardent foe of the Caesarism that was to lead in later years to the dynastic emperors. Yet, withal, in this speech Cicero pleads eloquently and successfully for the measure that paved the way for Caesar.

It will be worthwhile for a moment to recall the words of two Ciceronian critics, Middleton, an early English biographer of Cicero, and H. G. Hodge, the translator of this speech for the Loeb Library. Middleton, the 'Lying Middleton' as Macaulay unjustly dubbed him, has this to say of Cicero in this speech: 'Julius Caesar also was a zealous promoter of this law; but from a very different motive than the love of either Pompey or the Republic: His design was to recommend himself by it to the people, whose favor, he foresaw, would be of more use to him than the Senate's, and to cast a fresh load of envy on Pompey, which by some accident might be improved afterwards to his hurt; but his chief view was to make the precedent familiar, that, whatever use Pompey might make of it, he himself might one day make a bad one.'¹ Middleton again absolves Cicero in the following words: 'The reasons already intimated and Pompey's singular character of modesty and abstinence, joined to the superiority of his military fame,

might probably convince him that it was not only safe but necessary, at this time, to commit to such a general a war which no one else could finish; and a power, which nobody else ought to be entrusted with, to such a man.²² In the introduction to his translation of this speech H. G. Hodge makes the following remarks: 'Despite the protestations of his concluding words, we feel that Cicero was endeavoring to conceal from his audience, and even from himself, his true motives in making this speech—a desire at once to embellish his reputation and to secure his future by ranging himself from the first moment of his political career on the side of Pompeius, to whom the people looked then, and the Senators were presently to look, as their champion; and by supporting a measure which was destined—though the orator little suspected it—to make Pompeius master of Senate and people alike, until such time as a greater than Pompeius should sweep away the power of them both.'²³

In what spirit should we approach this problem? Should we take the tack of Mommsen?: 'He was a statesman without insight, idea, or purpose, he figured successively as democrat, as aristocrat, as tool of the monarchs, and was never more than a shortsighted egotist. Where he exhibited the semblance of action, the questions to which actions applied had, as a rule, just reached their solution; thus he came forward in the trial of Verres against the senatorial courts when they were already set aside; thus he was silent at the discussion of the Gabinian Law and acted as champion of the Manilian Law.'²⁴ Mommsen also has this acid observation: 'The absolute want of political discernment in the orations on constitutional questions and of juristic deduction in the forensic addresses, the egotism forgetful of duty and constantly losing sight of the cause while thinking of the advocate, the dreadful barrenness of thought in the Ciceronian orations must revolt every reader of feeling and judgment.'²⁵ Or, shall we adopt the sentiment behind this statement of Strachan-Davidson?: 'Cicero accepted it as the first axiom of politics, that "some sort of a free state" is the necessary

condition of a noble existence; and that it is the last calamity for a people permanently to renounce this ideal and to substitute for it the slave's ideal of a good master. Englishmen and Americans worthy of their birthright are not likely to disagree with Cicero's judgement. If this be indeed the cardinal doctrine of the political faith, then Cicero was sound in the faith. At any rate this was the creed in which he lived, and to maintain this he laid down his life.'²⁶

Wherein lies the truth? Was Cicero merely a bungling statesman, stupid, a parasite feeding on the greatness of Pompey? Or was he truly the champion of Rome and her better interests? We shall endeavor to give an explanation for his seemingly unorthodox behavior.

Catulus and Hortensius objected to the bill of Manilius, as they had opposed the bill of Gabinus, because it nullified the principle of collegiality. In the Roman form of government there were in every ordinary office at least two men—a collegium—both enjoying equal powers. This procedure served as a check to the usurpation of power with consequent abuse by any one individual. In Cicero's Rome the control of the government had fallen into the hands of a body of trained men, a ruling class theoretically fitted for duties of the most varied kind.²⁷ It was from this group that the most serious opposition arose, for the power of the government was thus snatched from their control.

Ferrero and Barbagallo in their History of Rome make the following statement about the Gabinian Law which applies *a fortiori* to the Manilian Law: 'A tribune of the people, named Aulus Gabinus, who was a friend of Pompey, was quick to seize the opportunity. He succeeded in passing a law which bore his name and which embodied a decision unprecedented in the history of the Republic.'²⁸ The *Lex Manilia*, over and above the powers granted by the *Lex Gabinia*, gave Pompey the sole government of Asia, Bythynia, and Cilicia; command in the war against Mithridates; power to declare war and conclude alliances in the name of the Roman people whenever and wherever he saw fit. The effect of this law was to authorize a personal

policy, independent of the will of the Senate. There was to be no check, no counterbalance, were a man disposed to abuse this power. This was the measure which Cicero, lover of the Republic, successfully advocated; it is this violation of tradition which he ignored in his refutation.

The one fact that must ever be kept in mind is that Cicero despite all his dabbling in Greek philosophy was always to the core a Roman of the Romans. He was hardheaded, practical and devoted to 'Roma perennis.' Because he was so much the Roman, he was an eclectic *par excellence* in his study of philosophy. Much has been written about his constant wavering, not enough has been said about his staunch Romanism. The Romans were preeminently a practical people, and as a result their great contributions to world culture are not to be found in the realms of art but in the domain of law and government. Horace complained of their system of education which stressed such practicalities as the counting of money, *aerugo et cura peculi*. Later on, Juvenal was to lash the Romans for their corrupt servility to the *sportula*.

When one is aware of this facet of the Roman character, the claim that Cicero was a votary of expediency in his political thinking should cause no surprise. He was true to himself and his belief in expediency when he evaded the main point in the objection of Catulus and Hortensius. To Cicero, Rome came first. Rome must endure and the means which brought about her perpetuation, provided they were not intrinsically evil, were good and noble. Such a policy at times might involve the temporary shelving of a principle, might involve a concession here and there, but if Rome were saved and her prestige increased, then these means were admirable in themselves. This comes as a shock to young persons, idealistic as they are, who have been reared in the apotheosis of Cicero as Pater Patriae. To Cicero the Roman this was not sophistry; this was wisdom.

The word *expediency* has had an unfortunate career. In its original connotation it signified something that was helpful, useful, and benefi-

cial. It always meant to suggest that these elements were never derived from anything intrinsically evil. When we use the word, we employ it in its pristine meaning, not in the sense which it generally enjoys today. So it follows that statesmen who follow this doctrine are not necessarily timeservers, men without principles, politicians in the worst sense of the word. So with Cicero, I do not maintain that he was a statesman who would connive at anything, no matter how wrong, merely to gain his end. But I maintain that Cicero ever held before him the safety of Rome, that Cicero believed that the republican form of government was the best method to insure that ideal, but that from time to time concessions would have to be made, adjustments would be in order, in order to cope with an urgent, present exigency. Anent this doctrine of political expediency I would like to quote from a book entitled *Political Philosophies* by Chester C. Maxey:⁹ Expediency—not in the Machiavelian sense of condoning whatever may be advantageous in promoting a particular policy or reaching a particular objective, but in the profounder sense of shaping the course of action to conform with the basic and permanent elements of the institutional life of people, . . . the art of statecraft was not merely to perceive the continuity of the body politic, but to perceive those elemental ingredients in a given society which make for vigor and perpetuity, for stability and order, for justice and morality, and then to hew out policies in keeping with these fundamentals.'

Cicero's doctrine of expediency comes out in all his philosophical works. The Second Book of his *De Officiis* is almost entirely given over to an examination and justification of expediency, or the *utile*, as he styles it. The same tenet appears *passim* in his *De Legibus*. I propose to limit myself to a few instances of this doctrine as found in his *De Republica*.

It is a source of profound regret that this crowning achievement of Cicero's political thinking should be preserved for us in so fragmentary a form. Perhaps some may feel that it is not just to conclude from the few instances offered us. However, I feel that these words, coupled

with his career, prove that these were the sentiments Cicero lived by. The clue to Cicero's belief in expediency is found in a letter to Atticus which he wrote concerning his treatises on government. (*Ad. Att. X. 4*). Cicero writes as follows: 'If, as we are reminded by you, nothing is good unless honest; nothing bad that is not wicked. . . .' That is the kernel to his political thinking. It is unfortunate that in the *De Republica* itself the clearest instances of this doctrine have been lost. However, their substance has been preserved for us in the Commentaries of Saint Augustine and Lactantius. In the Hardingham edition of the '*De Republica*' there are copious references to these two authorities. In this edition there are two striking references to expediency in the Third Book, and at least one in the First Book. Still in the actual text, as we have it, there are some statements which command our attention. In chapter XVIII of Book Three we find these words: 'The same thing is true of States as of persons; no people would be so foolish as not to prefer to be unjust masters rather than just slaves.' In the First Book, chapter 26, 'Every state, every commonwealth, is to be governed by prudence if it is to be lasting.' Again in the First Book, chapter 25: 'The state is the constitution of the entire people. But the people is not every association of men however congregated, but the association of the entire number bound together by the compact of justice and the communication of utility.' In Book Three, chapter 4, we find this same insistence on wisdom in government. This is the essence of the Roman character coming forth. Cicero says: 'In the very nature of things, that political institution is by far the best where wise counsels prevail.'

It seems fair to say that these statements and others similar to them are basic to Cicero's political thinking. This further fact follows as a necessary consequent, that they give a broad scope to his political maneuverings. Such a principle renders consistent the seemingly inconsistent policy of Cicero which Mommsen and Drumann have so vigorously pilloried. In all things, therefore, the question of *utilitas* must be considered. This was the Roman manner of

thinking; this was the way Cicero thought and acted. Rome, her safety and perpetuation, ever came first. He could live and die, as Strachan-Davidson says, the apostle and votary of the Republic, but if the life of that Republic was threatened, if her hopes for expansion were being choked off, if the source of her greatest revenues were being snatched from her hand, then Cicero was realist enough and practical enough to scrap for the moment the basic tenet of republicanism, the principle of collegiality.

By way of confirmatory illustration I would like to pause for a few moments on Edmund Burke. In the annals of statesmanship the name of Burke takes high rank. Burke loved the British Empire with the same passion and devotion that Cicero lavished upon his *Roma perennis*. The keynote to Burke's political philosophy is expediency. Not in the pejorative sense of that term, for he was far too upright in his own character to advocate and follow a policy that was immoral, but rather, in the following sense of the term, namely that he hewed out policies in keeping with justice, order, and morality for the perpetuation of the empire which he loved so well. Burke expressed his conception of expediency in his speech for Conciliation with the Colonies, where he declared that a whole people could not be indicted. It was not a question for him whether the British government possessed the right to make the American people miserable, but whether it was the expedient thing to make them happy. Time has proven the wisdom of Burke's appeal, and the British government by refusing his plea, based on the principle of expediency, lost for itself its greatest possession. Again, in a speech given on the eleventh of May, 1792, concerning the question as to whether or not the Unitarians should be relieved of certain political disabilities, Burke again expresses the fundamental concept of all his political thinking, namely, the emphasis on the expedient rather than upon the abstract or even legally right course of action. In this speech he says: 'I never govern myself, no rational man ever did govern himself by abstractions and universals. I do not put abstract ideas wholly out of any question, because I well

know, that under that name I should dismiss principles; and without the guide and light of sound well-understood principles, all reasonings in politics, as in everything else, would be only a confused jumble of particular facts and details, without the means of drawing out any sort of theoretical or practical conclusion. A statesman differs from a professor in a university; the latter has only the general view of Society; the former, the statesman, has a number of circumstances to combine with those general ideas, and to take into consideration. Circumstances are infinite, are infinitely combined; are variable and transient; he who does not take them into consideration, is not erroneous, but stark mad—*dat operam ut cum ratione insaniat*—he is metaphysically mad. A statesman, never losing sight of principles, is to be guided by circumstances; and, judging contrary to the exigencies of the moment, he may ruin his country forever.¹⁰ Such was the political *Credo* of Edmund Burke, statesman and patriot whose true greatness was not realized till years after his death.

The principle by which Burke operated for himself, I attribute to Cicero in the refutation of the Manilian Law. I feel that this devotion to political expediency is the key to the seemingly chameleonic character of Cicero's answer. He was not the stupid, bungling sycophant pictured by Mommsen's vitriolic pen; nor was he the starry-eyed idealist that Strachan-Davidson would feign leave us with at the close of his able work. The true answer lies between these extremes. He was a hardheaded realist, a practical Roman, a statesman ever aware of the need of pondering all the circumstances as he fashioned his policies for the state. He was Roman to the core. It was under the stress of this great love for his country that he had to evade the point urged by Catulus and Hortensius, because he was astute enough to realize that Rome could not live on as a power in the world were she to be deprived of the great revenue derived from taxes and trade in the East; that Rome could never rest secure as a mighty foe grew stronger because of Roman inertia and Roman ineptitude. Willingly could he sac-

rifice the great principle of republicanism on the altar of his love for Rome, intending, once Rome was secure, to restore that which had been temporarily sacrificed to the needs of the hour. Well might we take consolation and courage from these words of his in the *Somnium Scipionis* (chap. 29): 'Since a spirit is the only force that moves itself, it surely has no beginning, and is immortal. Use it, therefore, in the best pursuits! The best pursuits are those undertaken in defence of your native land; a spirit trained and occupied in such pursuits will have a swifter flight to this, its proper home and permanent abode'—the land of the blessed.

NOTES

* Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of New England, April 3, 1948.

¹ *History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, Conyers Middleton, Basel, 1790, p. 127.

² *Idem ut supra*, p. 128.

³ Loeb Classical Library, *Cicero, the Speeches*, Translated by H. Grose Hodge, Introd. to *Pro Lege Manilia*, pp. 10-11.

⁴ *Mommsen's History of Rome*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1898. Vol. V., p. 504.

⁵ *Idem ut supra*, p. 506-7.

⁶ *Cicero and the Rise and Fall of the Roman Republic*, Strachan-Davidson, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London, 1894, p. 427.

⁷ *Cicero and His Influence*, John C. Rolfe, Marshall Jones Co., Boston, p. 17.

⁸ *A Short History of Rome*, Ferrero and Barbagallo, G. P. Putnam's Sons (2 Vols.) New York and London, 1918, Vol. I. p. 380.

⁹ Chester C. Maxey, *Political Philosophies*, New York, The Macmillan Co. 1938, p. 376.

¹⁰ *The Works of Edmund Burke*, World's Classics Ed., 6 Vols. 1906-20, Vol. III, pp. 315-29.

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NIMBLE-FOOTED RUNNERS

In the classics we find numerous picturesque ways of indicating great speed. The passages in question show too much imagination to be included in matter-of-fact books on athletics, and it is seldom that a fascinating parallel, either ancient or modern, infiltrates into our annotated editions. A few representative examples will show the diversity of this material.

The horses of Rhesus run like the winds (*Iliad* 10.437),¹ and seven dogs of Cynosura are fleetier than the winds (Callim., *Hymns* 3.94).² In the *Iliad* 'wind-footed' (*podenemos*) is an epithet of Iris;³ according to Vergil (*Aeneid* 4.239-41), Mercury's winged sandals carry him over land and sea *rapido pariter cum flamine*.⁴ Nisus, one of the contestants in the funeral games of Achises, is *et ventis et fulminis ocior alis* (*Aeneid* 5.319). Vergil (*Aeneid* 1.317) also tells us that Harpalyce outstrips the Hebrus.⁵ Sicilian Cynisca is swifter than the swallow (Theocr. 14.39-41), and Cyrus' couriers are faster than migrating cranes (Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.6.18).⁶ The hawk, 'the swiftest of birds,'⁷ cannot match the speed of Ulysses' ship as it approaches Ithaca (*Odyssey* 13.86-7). To Hippomenes Atalanta seems swifter than the flight of a Scythian arrow (Ovid, *Met.* 10. 588-9),⁸ and a still more fabulous runner could overtake a missile that he himself threw (Stat., *Theb.* 6.561).⁹

One might multiply examples like these, but at present I am chiefly interested in stories about nimble-footed runners passing lightly over vegetation or skimming the surface of bodies of water. Such feats were performed by the horses of Erichthonius (*Iliad* 20.226-9):

They flew along the topmost ears of wheat
And broke them not, and when they sported o'er
The mighty bosom of the deep they ran
Along the hoary summits of its waves.¹⁰

A human runner, Iphicles (or Iphiclus), who could race the winds, matched the first feat of the horses (Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women and Eoiae*, No. 84):

'He would run over the fruit of the asphodel and not break it; nay, he would run with his feet upon wheaten ears and not hurt the fruit.'¹¹

The Homeric lines inspired Vergil (*Aeneid* 7.808-11) to imitate them, but he added some touches of his own in endowing Camilla with great speed:

Illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina, nec tenerae cursu laessisset aristas,
vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis
ferret iter,¹² celeres nec tingeret aequore plantas.¹³

These conceits appealed to Ovid (*Met.* 10.652-55), who used them in describing the race of Hippomenes and Atalanta:

... cum carcere pronus uterque
emicat et summam celeri pede libat arenam.
Posse putes illos sicco freta radere passu,
et segetis canae stantes perecurrere aristas.¹⁴

In his *Essay on Criticism* Pope, too, imitates Vergil:

Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o'er th' unbending¹⁵ corn, and skims along the main.

Modern poetry provides several rivals of the nimble Camilla:

A foot more light, a step more true,
Ne'er from the heath-flower dash'd the dew:
E'en the slight harebell raised its head,
Elastic from her airy tread.¹⁶

—Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, I, 18

Where he passed, the branches moved not,
Where he trod, the grasses bent not,
And the fallen leaves of last year
Made no sound beneath his footsteps.

—Longfellow, *Song of Hiawatha*, XVI

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,
And ye that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back . . .

—Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act V, Sc. 1

Some prose parallels to Camilla's lightness of foot in running over water may be given. Among the exploits attributed to the Northman King Olaf is one that shows his speed of foot:

'When his men sat at their oars on a warship, he would pass from oar to oar outside the vessel.'¹⁷

Emerson's version of this feat is as follows:

'Olaf, King of Norway, could run round his galley on the blades of the oars of the rowers when the ship was in motion. . . .'¹⁸

Even the gigantic Paul Bunyan was a light-footed runner:

'They say he kin birl a log so fast he'll skin it outer its bark, and then run to shore on its bubbles.'¹⁹

A horse conjured up in a Negro's imagination almost matched those of Erichthonius:

'Dis time I ran to Afriey on my hoss and when he cross de Dead Sea, between here an' Afriey, dat hoss wuz goin' so fas' he didn't sink down over his hocks!'²⁰

In discussing the popular speech of his day Lowell comments as follows on its proneness to exaggeration:

'But it seems to me that a great deal of what is set down as mere extravagance is more fitly to be called intensity and picturesqueness, symptoms of the imaginative faculty in full health and strength, though producing

as yet only the raw and formless material in which poetry is to work.²¹

The humble people from whom the Grimm Brothers collected their Märchen reveled in exaggeration. In one tale a runner makes this boast: 'Wenn ich mit zwei Beinen laufe, so geht's geschwinder als ein Vogel fliegt.' In other stories we find 'so schnell wie der Blitz,' and there is a golden horse 'welches noch schneller liefe als der Wind.' The speed of a team of horses is described with unusual vividness: 'Als wäre der Wind vorgespannt, so eilten die Pferde zu dem Wunderschloss.'

Sometimes even those who are untutored try to magnify in picturesque verse the things they feel intensely, as is shown by a few lines from a lumberjack ballad:

A flash of lightning would be slow²²
Compared to how he came.
He didn't seem to touch the ground,
But was coming just the same.²³

We are never disturbed by the convention that permits poets to exaggerate rates of speed.²⁴ There would be nothing poetic in a hobbled Mercury, Iris, Puck, or Ariel. In popular imagination a horse that does not run more swiftly than the wind is very slow, indeed. Exaggeration comes naturally to the good storyteller, whether he be a poet or a peasant.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Scott, *Thomas the Rhymer*, Part I:

She mounted on her milk-white steed;
She's ta'en true Thomas up behind;
And aye, when'er her bridle rung
The steed flew swifter than the wind.

In *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto V, 18, Scott says of a troop of horsemen: 'They sweep like breezes through Ochtertyre.'

² Cf. Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto III, 17:

Poor Stumah! whom his least halloo
Could send like lightning o'er the dew.

³ 2.786; 18.166; 24.95. A character in *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto IV, 26, has 'heart of fire and foot of wind.' In Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* Atalanta is 'footed as the wind.'

⁴ Cf. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I, IX, Stanza 21:

Als flew his steed, as he his bands had brast,
And with his winged heeles did tread the wind,
As he had been a fole of Pegasus his kind.

⁵ Cf. Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto V, 18:

Along thy banks, Swift Teith! they ride,
And in the race they mock the tide.

⁶ Saul and Jonathan were swifter than eagles (II Samuel 1.23).

⁷ See also *Iliad* 15.238; 22.139. The pursuit of the dove by the hawk became proverbial for great speed (*Iliad* 21.493-4; Aesch., *Prom. Vincit* 856-8).

⁸ The arrow is symbolic of speed. Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 13.21.9: Vocatur [Tigris] autem hoc nomine propter velocitatem, instar bestiae nimia pernicitate currentis. It may be noted that in *Pictures from Italy* Dickens speaks of 'the arrowy Rhone.' I could not find the source of the following quotation from Richard Jefferies: 'Down the road skims an eave swallow, swift as an arrow.'

⁹ Cf. Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha*, IV:

He could shoot an arrow from him,
And run forward with such fleetness,
That the arrow fell behind him.

¹⁰ Bryant's translation.

¹¹ H. G. Evelyn-White's translation in the Loeb Classical Library. He says that Vergil (as quoted in the text of this paper) imitated the passage in Hesiod, but Hesiod and Iphicles did not provide Vergil with a model for Camilla's feat of running lightly over water. The annotated editions of the *Aeneid* rightly regard Homer as Vergil's inspiration.

¹² Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1.147: Atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.

¹³ These lines are quoted in whole or in part by Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 85.4, and by Quintilian 8.6.69.

¹⁴ Cf. Calpurnius, *Eclog.* 6.56: . . . tangeret up fragiles sed non curvaret aristas.

¹⁵ Pope evidently regarded *intactae* as meaning 'unbending,' but 'unreaped' would seem to be the natural interpretation.

¹⁶ With the last two lines cf. Lowell, *She Came and Went*:

As a twig trembles, which a bird
Lights on to sing, then leaves unbent,
So in my memory thrilled and stirred;—
I only know she came and went.

¹⁷ *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, translated by J. Sephton (London, 1895), p. 323.

¹⁸ In 'Success,' an essay in *Society and Solitude*.

¹⁹ *The Atlantic Monthly* 140 (Sept., 1927), 327. For a poetic use of bubbles in a passage where great speed is indicated see Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto III, 12:

So rapidly the barge-men row,
The bubbles, where they launch'd the boat,
Were all unbroken and afloat,
Dancing in foam and ripple still,
When it had near'd the mainland hill.

²⁰ *The Atlantic Monthly* 179 (Feb., 1947), 51.

²¹ *Introduction to the Biglow Papers*, Second Series.

²² Cf. 'faster than greased lightning.'

²³ A ballad called 'Bringing Him in Alive.' See E. C. Beck, *Lore of the Lumber Camps* (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1948), p. 119.

24 But in the Fall of 1946 a widely published story to the effect that a 'gazelle boy' sped over the plains of Trans-Jordan at the rate of fifty miles an hour met with nothing but irony and ridicule.

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(Continued from p. 14)

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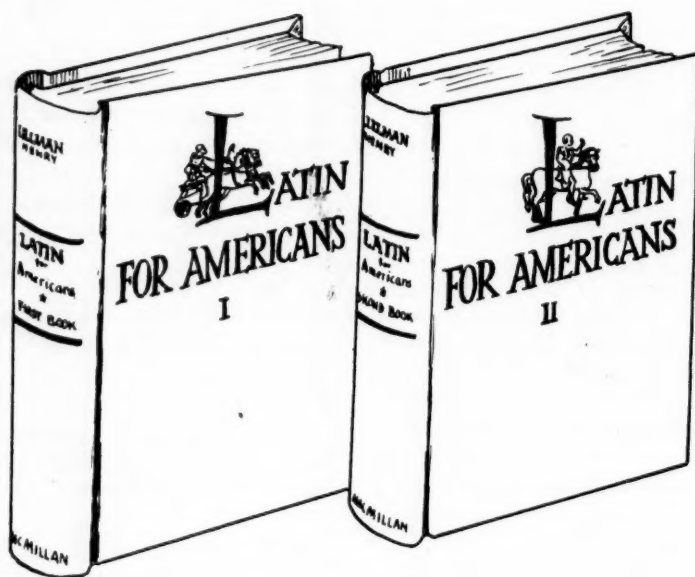


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